

PRIVACY AND ENVIRONMENT:
A FIELD EXPERIMENT

By

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The purpose of the present study was to investigate the effects of one's physical environment upon privacy. In so doing, the present study examined the effects of relocating individuals from a non-privacy affording environment to one which offered a high degree of privacy. The sites selected for the study were an antiquated jail house and its newly constructed replacement. To assess the impact of moving from the old facility to the new, a series of questionnaires were administered to samples of inmates during three different time periods. The first test session was conducted at the old facility approximately one month before the move, while the second test occurred at the new facility approximately one month after the move. To provide a means of assessing the stability of the impact of the move, a third test was conducted some six months after the second. The results seemed consistent with those obtained in previous research, in that with this change in environments, there was a

substantial increase in inmate expectancies for privacy while values of privacy slightly decreased. The effects of a discrepancy in values and expectancies for privacy upon inmate attitudes and behaviors were also examined.

INTRODUCTION

An important aspect of privacy that becomes apparent after reviewing research in the area, is that privacy is not a univariate concept. Several authors have commented upon its multiplicity by suggesting various dimensions along which considerations should be given. One of the more extensive reviews of the multi-dimensionality of privacy is that of Laufer, Proshansky, and Wolfe (1973). Laufer et al. have suggested several analytic dimensions on which privacy may be conceptualized. They are as follows: the self-ego dimension, the interaction dimension, the life-cycle dimension, the biography-history dimension, the control dimension, the ecological-cultural dimension, the task orientation dimension, the ritual dimension, and the phenomenological dimension.

Dimensions of Privacy

Self-ego

Most discussions concerning privacy have focused upon the concept of the self. Usually, such discussions have considered privacy as a necessary condition in the development of a self-concept. In order for one to conceive of a self, it is necessary to be able to separate self from others. Such a separation necessitates an aloneness, either physical or psychological or both. In this regard, privacy can be viewed as the dichotomy between self and others (Kelvin, 1973).

Simmel (1971) defined privacy as self-boundaries, boundaries between the self and others. These boundaries are necessary for the

development of the self, facilitating individuality and autonomy. According to Simmel, individuality develops from conflicts over boundaries of the self in relation to others. Because it helps to avoid much conflict between the individual and society, privacy is valued.

Kira (1970) described privacy as being basic to the development of a strong personal identity. Privacy involves the concept of possession, possession of time, space, and property. Each of these serves as a measure of our uniqueness and self-expression. Similarly, Jourard (1971) stated that in situations where there is no privacy, there is no individuality. As viewed by Jourard, privacy is a necessity for personal growth, in that it provides individuals with the opportunity to discover and/or redefine their identity.

The relation of privacy to the self has also been stressed by Bates (1964). Bates viewed privacy as a distinction between the self and others. This differentiation between self and others serves both a self-protective and an ameliorative function. Privacy may protect the self simply by separating oneself from others who are perceived as threatening. In addition, this separation from others may be ameliorative in respect to restoring one's self-esteem through the removal of any threats to oneself. Thus, privacy acts as a buffer between social pressures upon the individual and his or her response to them.

Interaction

The preceding discussion of privacy as a distinction between self and others, not only assumes the presence of others, but also the potential interaction with others. Privacy may in fact be viewed as an escape and/or avoidance from interactions with others. As Laufer, Proshansky, and Wolfe (1973) state, in essence, privacy is non-interaction.

Kelvin (1973) viewed privacy as the obverse of social behavior.

In other words, privacy is the obverse of social interaction. Similarly, Weinstein (1971) defined privacy as being immune from intrusion by others. This potential for non-interaction has been further stressed by Shils (1966), who described privacy as a "zero relationship" between two or more persons constituted by the absence of interaction, communication, or perception within the context in which such interaction, communication, or perception is practical. Thus, according to Shils, privacy can only exist if there is a voluntary withdrawal from interaction.

Consistent with the preceding, non-interaction or an absence of interaction may be achieved by either blocking others' interactions with oneself or blocking one's interactions with others. Sommer (1966) mentioned two methods of insuring privacy, both involving the blocking of others' interactions with oneself. As termed by Sommer, they are offensive display and avoidance. An example of the former method is any action that the individual employs that facilitates others' leaving the situation, whereas an example of the latter method is any action that the individual employs that facilitates his or her own leaving from the situation.

Alternatively, Roberts and Gregor's (1971) view of privacy as a restriction of the transmission of information illustrates the blocking of one's interactions with others. As an example of this method, whenever individuals refuse to communicate with others, they prohibit interaction. This is similar to Jourard's (1966) notion of privacy as an outcome of a person's wish to withhold from others certain knowledge as to his or her past or present experiences and actions, and intentions for the future.

Life-cycle

As an individual moves through the life cycle, needs, desires, abilities, and expectations change along with age. These changes all affect privacy. Not only do individuals change, but situations change. This too affects privacy. Laufer, Proshansky, and Wolfe (1973) have suggested different conceptualizations of privacy as a function of age. When children are young, they may not possess a separate space, but they do possess various objects. At this stage, privacy may merely be conceived as object possession. As children mature and can differentiate themselves from their families, being able to be alone may gain importance. Thus, privacy may begin to be related to a separation from others. Such a separation may become much more salient in adolescence when individuals begin to seek greater intimacy with others, especially in relation to sexual activities.

In a study reported by Laufer et al., the conceptualization of privacy as a function of age was supported. Children between the ages of four and nineteen were interviewed as to their conceptions of privacy. The interviews consisted of a series of open-ended questions. The results indicated that:

1. Children as young as four years old know what privacy is.
2. The number of different aspects of privacy increase with age.
3. Some elements of the concept of privacy remain across time, although the frequency and importance of these elements change with age.
4. Privacy as possession of objects is more prevalent among younger children, while privacy as possession of space is more prevalent among adolescents.

Biography-history

Privacy, like most concepts, derives its meaning from past experiences. On the basis of past interactions with others, individuals both define "what privacy is" and "how it can be attained." Simply stated, privacy is learned. In support of such a notion, there have been a variety of anthropological studies reporting different conceptions of privacy across cultures (Roberts and Gregor, 1971; Westin, 1970).

As a learned phenomenon, privacy has consequences not only for the present, but also for the future, in terms of both oneself and others. Privacy-directed behaviors may affect others in their attempt to prevent any future interaction. Subsequently, the success or failure of these same behaviors may in turn affect the individual's future behavior in a similar situation.

Control

From the preceding discussions, it is apparent that privacy is a dynamic process, often entailing some sort of behavior. Thus, privacy is more than just a dichotomy between self and others characterized by non-interaction. Privacy is an active process involving the ability to restrict or prevent interaction between self and others. In other words, privacy involves the ability to control interactions.

The control of interactions may be viewed from two slightly different perspectives. Control involves the active restriction of interaction by either controlling others' actions or one's own actions. Sommer's (1966) methods of insuring privacy, offensive display and avoidance, illustrate this control. While offensive display is directed toward controlling others' actions, avoidance involves controlling one's own actions. Another method of controlling one's actions is to limit communication

with others. Jourard (1966) viewed privacy as a desire to control others' perceptions and beliefs about oneself, vis-a-vis the self-concealing person. Similarly, Shils (1966) discussed privacy in relation to information control.

Control may also be viewed from the perspective of others, in terms of their control over interactions. As such, privacy represents freedom from others' control. Proshansky, Ittleson, and Rivlin (1970) defined privacy as the freedom to choose what one communicates about oneself, and to whom it is communicated. Likewise, Weinstein (1971) described privacy as an immunity from intrusion or control by others. Thus, an invasion of privacy may be viewed as an intrusion upon one's freedom from control.

Freedom from the control of others may also be viewed as freedom from their power. Kelvin (1973) described privacy as operating to insure an individual's independence in situations in which he or she might otherwise be vulnerable to the power of others. Beardsley (1971) has also mentioned privacy in terms of power, but from the individual's perspective. Violations of privacy were viewed as either violations of one's right to selective disclosure or violations of one's autonomy. According to Beardsley, autonomy involves the power to choose an act or experience plus the power to bring about what has been chosen. Privacy as facilitating the maintenance of personal autonomy has also been cited by Pastalan (1970b). As viewed by Pastalan, such facilitation derives from one's ability to choose for oneself.

One of the more extensive discussions of control has been presented by Johnson (1974). As defined by Johnson, privacy is those behaviors which enhance and maintain one's control over outcomes by controlling interactions with others. Consistent with this view, privacy was

conceptualized as a four stage process arising from the awareness of a need to its eventual satisfaction. The first stage, that of outcome choice control, concerns the process whereby individuals select those outcomes which they will attempt to attain. In the next stage, that of behavior selection control, individuals select those behaviors to be employed in outcome attainment. The third stage, that of outcome effectiveness, involves the actual performance of those behaviors selected. And in the final stage, that of outcome realization control, the adequacy of these behaviors are evaluated in relation to the attained outcome. Thus, within each stage of this process, the individual exerts control.

Ecological-cultural

An important aspect of privacy is the environment. Privacy, as both a process and an experience, must always be conceived in relation to some physical environment. In fact, privacy is often operationalized entirely on the basis of the environmental setting alone. Such a view is limiting in that the environment only provides the potential for privacy. In terms of social interaction, the physical setting acts as either an inhibitor or facilitator. This same notion has been expressed by Osmond (1957) in his characterization of space as either sociofugal or sociopetal. Whereas sociofugal spaces repel interaction, sociopetal spaces encourage such behavior

Thus, the environment allows for possible interaction. Whether such interaction occurs, depends upon the individuals involved and the amount of effort they are willing to exert to either maintain or limit such contact. The environment not only provides the potential for interaction, better stated, it provides the potential for control over interactions. It is in this sense that the environment may evoke and sustain privacy (Laufer, Proshansky, and Wolfe, 1973).

Implicit in the foregoing discussion is the meaning attached to the environment. Privacy is not only situation-specific, it is also culture-specific. As physical settings change, so do the potentials for interactional control. But it is only through the meaning attached to the physical environment, that these potentials change. And it is only through one's culture that meanings attached to the physical environment are derived. Whether the product of man or nature, the physical environment relative to privacy must be considered from a cultural context. Such an approach has been taken by Roberts and Gregor (1971).

Task Orientation

Although privacy may be an end in itself, oftentimes it serves as a means to some other end, and as such, may be viewed as task-related. There are several activities in which performance may be facilitated by interactional control or the absence of others, i.e., reading, writing, and just thinking. Whether such interactional control is desired, may in turn, depend upon the relative value of the task, such that the greater the value of the task, the greater the desire for privacy.

Ritual

Much of what is considered private is embodied in various norms within a particular culture. Norms may be viewed as standardized prescriptions for behaviors which are commonly shared among some group of people. Those norms prescribing acceptable or appropriate patterns of interpersonal control are often subsumed under the label of privacy. As such, the term "privacy" denotes a sense of control which is legitimized through the recognition and acceptance from others. By labelling one's thoughts or possessions as private, individuals are allowed control in

the sense that their desire for non-interaction is both recognized and accepted by others. Thus, within a particular group, norms help regulate behavior, or in terms of privacy, help control interaction. Other forms of shared prescriptions include laws, customs, rituals, and taboos.

Schwartz (1968) defined privacy as an institutionalized mode of withdrawal, or appropriate non-interaction. Those norms and rules governing privacy were viewed as providing a common bond among groups of people. Weinstein (1971) took a similar approach in describing privacy as those recognized ways of claiming to be immune from others. Kelvin (1973) also mentioned privacy-related norms as functioning to constrain behavior, and thus control interactions.

Phenomenological

Conceptions of privacy are filtered through a series of subjective appraisals, which include an individual's needs, desires, abilities, expectations, and feelings. Whether a situation provides the potential for interactional control is largely determined by the individual's subjective evaluation. This in conjunction with the individual's self-evaluation, will determine the probability of behavior. Thus, it is the phenomenology of the individual that defines privacy. As Bates (1964) states, privacy is intimately related to the self, having meaning only in terms of the self. Similarly, Kelvin (1973) emphasized the individual's subjective experience as "perceived privacy."

Theories of Privacy

Although privacy has been commented upon by several authors representing various disciplines, few have ventured beyond the level of

description. The result has been a general lack of theoretical formulation and empirical investigation in the area. As illustrated by the preceding discussion, privacy is an all-encompassing concept, in that it has many meanings. As such, a difficulty arises when privacy must be operationally defined. For privacy to be extended into the realm of both theory and subsequent empirical testing, discussion must move from the abstract to the concrete. Such an approach has been attempted by both Westin (1970) and Altman (1975).

Westin, a political scientist, has attempted a systematic analysis of privacy through the categorization of its various states and functions. Westin defined privacy as the claim of individuals, groups, or institutions to determine for themselves when, how, and to what extent information about themselves is communicated to others. Privacy was further defined in terms of four basic states; solitude, intimacy, anonymity, and reserve. Solitude is a state of privacy in which a person is alone and free from others' observation. Intimacy reflects the person's need for privacy as a member of a pair or group that seeks to achieve maximum personal relationships between or among its members. Anonymity refers to freedom from identification and surveillance from others, while in a public place. Lastly, reserve is the need to withhold certain aspects of the self that are either too personal or shameful from others' knowledge.

Westin's definitional schema has several advantages. Although only a preliminary step, Westin has provided a framework from which more extensive analyses can continue. By providing a basic definition of privacy and further specifying the various states to which it refers, Westin has moved from the abstract towards the concrete. Additionally, the unit of analysis has been extended from the individual to include a group of

individuals, in regards to the state of intimacy. A disadvantage of Westin's approach is the emphasis of observation or visual intrusion. Westin's view is somewhat restrictive in that one can be intruded upon by other forms of stimuli, such as auditory, olfactory, and tactile.

Westin also described four functions of privacy; personal autonomy, emotional release, self-evaluation, and limited and protected communication. Personal autonomy refers to the sense of individuality and choice deriving from control over one's environment. Emotional release involves the relaxation from those tensions which arise from social interactions. Privacy may also serve the function of emotional release by allowing one to deviate from social norms in a protected fashion from others. Self-evaluation refers to the self-appraisals of past, present, and future experiences which are facilitated by the separating of oneself from others. Finally, limited and protective communication involves control over what is said to whom, which is how Westin initially defined privacy.

Pastalan (1970a) has elaborated upon Westin's approach to include those events that motivate individuals to seek privacy. These include 1) antecedent social events, such as social relations and role responsibilities; 2) personal factors, such as motivation to be alone; 3) privacy mechanisms, such as the use of environmental and psychological barriers, and; 4) environmental factors, such as crowding and isolation. The significance of this approach is that privacy is viewed as a consequence of some event. As such, privacy is a response elicited by certain social, personal, and environmental conditions.

Westin's conceptual analysis has been empirically investigated by Marshall (1974). A questionnaire devised to measure the various aspects of privacy was administered to a group of both college students and their

parents. The results of a factor analysis revealed subjects to be responding to the following factors: intimacy, not neighboring, seclusion of home, solitude, anonymity, and reserve. In addition, two major groupings emerged: items emphasizing the control over self-disclosures, and items concerning the erection of barriers to vision and audition. Further analyses revealed that females tended to score higher on reserve, solitude, intimacy, and anonymity, and that parents tended to have higher preferences for reserve and non-involvement with neighbors, while students had higher preferences for solitude and intimacy.

The most extensive analysis of privacy from a psychological perspective is that of Altman's (1975). Altman viewed privacy as a central regulatory process by which a person (group) makes oneself (themselves) accessible or inaccessible to others. Altman further defined privacy as an interpersonal boundary process, involving selective control over self-other interactions. According to Altman, privacy may be conceived as that which is desired in conjunction with that which is achieved, or vice-versa. When desired privacy is greater than achieved, there is more interpersonal interaction than desired. Such conditions may be perceived as intrusion, invasion, or crowding. Alternatively, when achieved privacy is greater than desired, there is less interpersonal contact than desired, possibly experienced as loneliness, isolation, or even boredom. Implicit in Altman's analysis is the notion that individuals are motivated to seek an optimum state of privacy in which that which is desired is equal to that which is achieved.

The major advantage of Altman's analysis may also be its main disadvantage. Conceptualizing privacy in terms of what is desired and achieved has provided a much needed theoretical base from which empirical

investigations may be generated. The difficulty which may arise is when such empirical investigations are attempted. Operationally defining concepts such as desired and achieved privacy may be rather difficult, but only when attempted will this be known.

Components of Privacy

From the preceding discussion, it should be apparent that privacy is a complex variable, encompassing many elements. This may tend to complicate analytic attempts by necessitating the inclusion of these several dimensions. An alternative approach may be to conceptualize privacy in terms of a few basic components. From the various dimensions of privacy, three such components emerge: an environmental component, an individual component, and a behavioral component. By subsuming these molecular elements into more molar components, further analyses may be simplified.

The first component, that of the environment, emphasizes the situational nature of privacy (the ecological dimension). For the most part, privacy is conceived in relation to a specific environmental setting. Moreover, individuals oftentimes characterize a physical setting according to the degree of privacy that is afforded to them in such a situation. As previously mentioned, environmental settings may be viewed as providing the potential for privacy. In other words, within a specific setting, there is both a maximum and a minimum level of privacy that can be attained. It is along this range that the potential for privacy is defined. When such a setting varies, so does the potential for privacy.

The term "environment" includes all that is external to the individual, or group of individuals. As such, both inanimate and animate objects may constitute one's environment. In accordance with this view, not only is

one's environment comprised of physical objects, such as buildings, it is also comprised of other people, those viewed as outsiders to one-self or one's group. Others are usually viewed as potential intruders, resulting from unwanted interaction (the interaction dimension). Such interaction may occur through various modes of stimulation; tactile, visual, auditory, and olfactory. Oftentimes, this interaction is unintentional, in that it is not directed toward anyone in particular. Regardless of its intent, whether such interaction is unwanted depends upon those by whom it is received.

Therefore, privacy may be viewed from the perspective of the individual or a group of individuals. This in turn, involves the next component, that of the individual. Privacy is a subjective experience in that it has meaning only in terms of the individual (the phenomenological dimension). Thus, whether a certain environment is private or nonprivate depends upon the subjective appraisal of the individual or individuals concerned. Not only does such an appraisal vary across individuals (both cultural and ritual dimensions), it also varies within a certain individual across time (the life-cycle dimension). From an individual's standpoint, situations are appraised both cognitively and affectively. As such, an individual's view of any setting is filtered through a composite of emotional and belief systems, which fluctuate across time. In addition to this evaluation process, individuals may also vary in respect to the functions that privacy provides. To some individuals privacy may function as a means to some other end (the task-orientation dimension), while to others it may function as an end in itself and as such, may be ego-enhancing (the self-ego dimension). Thus, whether an individual perceives a certain setting as private or nonprivate, depends upon characteristics of both the setting and the individual.

The last component of privacy is the behavioral component. Privacy involves an active process concerning the individual's or a group of individuals' adaptation to certain environmental conditions. Inherent in this process is the element of control (the control dimension). As a behavior, privacy involves the active pursuit of the individual to control his or her environment. This control is evidenced by the individual's attempts to restrict or limit exposure to certain environmental stimulation, or interpersonal interaction. Such control may be attempted by either restricting that which is being projected upon the individual by the environment or restricting that which is being projected upon the environment by the individual. Whichever alternative is chosen, the decision rests with the individual. As a decision-making process, those actions which have been successful in similar instances in the past, have the greatest likelihood of being chosen again (the biography-history dimension). In turn, the success or failure of these decisions will have consequences for future behaviors.

From the preceding discussion, privacy may be viewed as involving a behavioral process mediated by the individual's appraisal of the environment relative to his or her own self-appraisal. As such, privacy may involve both an experience and a behavior. As an experience, privacy involves a feeling of aloneness, noninvolvement, or non-interaction, while as a behavior, privacy involves those actions directed towards the attainment or maintenance of such a state. Alternatively stated, privacy involves both those behaviors directed toward interactional control and those experiences resulting from such control. Thus, privacy involves a continuous process whereby the individual appraises his or her situation, then on the basis of such an appraisal, responds to the situation, and

then as a result of this behavior, reappraises the new situation to possibly respond again. Consistent with this view, the following definition of privacy is proposed: Privacy is a state of interactional control emanating from an individual's (or group of individuals) response to the presence or absence of certain environmental conditions.

A Model of Privacy

Privacy may also be conceptualized from the perspective of a model. As defined by Marx and Hillix (1963), any theoretical position which stresses the predictability of a response when the antecedent conditions are known, may be viewed as a model. One of the few theorists to take such an approach is Altman (1975). As previously discussed, Altman defined privacy as a process of interpersonal control, regulating interactions between the self and others. As a regulatory process, privacy was viewed as that which is desired in conjunction with that which is achieved. Consistent with this view, an optimum level of privacy was postulated to exist when the degree that is desired is equal to the degree that is achieved. In those cases in which these conditions are not equal, the existing state is one of imbalance. It is from this imbalance that individuals are motivated to either change their desired or achieved privacy, so as to attain a balanced state. Thus, implicit in Altman's approach is the assumption that individuals seek to maintain optimum degrees of privacy.

Altman has extended this conceptualization by outlining those events associated with the regulation of self-other boundaries. Consistent with this framework, such events were categorized into the following components; antecedent factors, overt coping behaviors, and psychological and physical costs. Antecedent factors refer to those elements from which one's desired

level of privacy is derived. Broadly classified, such elements include personal, interpersonal, and situational factors. Personal factors include all those things that constitute a person, such as beliefs, emotions, and experiences. Interpersonal factors include those properties of a social interaction, such as attraction, aggression, conformity, and cooperation. And situational factors include those physical characteristics comprising one's environment. From a combination of all these factors, an individual delimits his or her desired boundary of interaction, or as labeled by Altman, defines his or her situation.

Based upon this situational definition, the individual initiates those actions designed to achieve the degree of interaction desired. These actions constitute the next component, overt coping behaviors. Such actions include all those behaviors that operate to control interactions, by either increasing or decreasing the present level of interaction. These control mechanisms include verbal, nonverbal, and environmental behaviors.

After the performance of these coping behaviors, the individual must then assess the effectiveness of such mechanisms. In other words, the individual must evaluate the degree of privacy that has been achieved in comparison with that which was desired. If the mechanisms employed were successful, then the achieved level of interaction will equal what was desired. If not, then the result is a level of achieved interaction either less than or greater than that desired. Such times in which achieved interaction is more than that desired, are commonly referred to as invasions of privacy, crowding, or stimulus overload (Milgram, 1970). Alternatively, those instances in which achieved interaction is less than that desired, are frequently viewed as isolation or loneliness. In either case,

a disparity exists, which according to Altman, is accompanied by some degree of stress. It is from this stress that the individual is motivated to adapt to either changing his or her situational definition or initiating additional behavioral mechanisms.

Regardless of the eventual outcome, this regulatory process requires some expenditure of energy, either psychological, physical or both. Such expenditure is what Altman termed the costs of interpersonal control. These costs are inherent in the conceptualization of privacy as a behavioral phenomenon. Simply stated, without the exertion of some form of energy, there is no behavior.

A similar model has been presented by Stokols (1972) in approaching the concept of crowding. Stokols defined crowding as a subjective experience in which one's demand for space exceeds the available supply, thus desired space is greater than that achieved. Consistent with this definition, Stokols proposed a model of crowding incorporating the following sequential stages: 1) exposure of the individual to certain environmental conditions; 2) the experience of psychological and physiological stress, and; 3) the enactment of behavioral, cognitive, and perceptual attempts to alleviate the experience of such stress. According to Stokols, the experience of crowding develops through the interaction of physical, social, and personality variables. These variables combine to form the basis of one's expectation of social interference, or interpersonal interaction. Associated with anticipated interaction is the experience of stress, which in turn, motivates the individual to behave. Such behavior may be viewed as a means of gaining some control over one's environment, in respect to social interactions. Basic to this approach, is the assumption that insufficient control as stress producing, is a motivator of behavior.

Consistent with the preceding models, Pastalan (1970a, 1970b) has also approached the concept of privacy as a response to certain predisposing factors. According to Pastalan, those events which elicit the individual's desire for privacy include: 1) antecedent social events; 2) organismic or personal factors; 3) mechanisms to achieve privacy, and 4) environmental factors. These factors not only determine the desired level of privacy, they also determine those behavioral mechanisms by which privacy will be achieved.

The foregoing models of privacy may be summarized as follows: Privacy as a behavioral phenomenon is a response elicited by certain stress-evoking conditions. Such conditions include personal, social, and environmental characteristics, all of which are combined in the individual's or group's assessment of their present situation. This assessment is based upon the individual's evaluation of the environment and those others within this environment, in conjunction with the individual's own self-evaluation. As prescribed by these evaluations, the individual specifies an acceptable range of social behavior, or interpersonal interaction, the maintenance of which necessitates some degree of control. Such control is manifested in a variety of those behaviors which operate as mechanisms of interpersonal regulation. When these mechanisms are ineffective and the level of interaction remains unacceptable, the individual experiences stress, which in turn, motivates the individual to employ alternative mechanisms. Thus, privacy as a behavioral phenomenon, is a continuous process of evaluation, action, and re-evaluation. Such a view is consistent with the definition of privacy provided above.

A Social Learning Approach

As a social behavior, there are a variety of theoretical approaches that could be applied to the investigation of privacy. Each of these theories, although concerned with the same phenomenon, views behavior from slightly different perspectives. Whereas some approaches represent certain orientations, such as reinforcement, field, and psychoanalytic theories, other approaches represent a mixture of orientations and as such may be considered transorientational (Shaw and Costanzo, 1970). One such approach is the social learning theory of Rotter (1954).

Through his social learning theory, Rotter has attempted to account for the occurrence of human behavior in a variety of settings, ranging from the simple to the complex. Basic to this approach are several principles or postulates. Foremost among these is the notion of behavior as the interaction of the individual and his or her environment. As stated by Rotter, such interaction is the fundamental unit of investigation in the analysis of behavior. Another important aspect of this theory is its situational nature. In the social learning approach of Rotter's behavior is viewed as taking place in a certain space and time. This theory is also based upon one other principle, that of directionality. Implicit in this approach is the assumption that all behavior is directed toward the attainment of some goal.

Consistent with the definition of a "theory," Rotter has proposed four major constructs utilized in both the explanation and prediction of behavior. These concepts have been labeled as follows: behavior potential, expectancy, reinforcement value, and psychological situation. Behavior potential may be defined as the potentiality of any behavior occurring in

a given situation in relation to its respective reinforcements. Simply stated, behavior potential is the probable occurrence of a behavior. Expectancy refers to the probability that a particular reinforcement will occur as a function of the performance of a specific behavior. As termed by Rotter, this concept involves the expectancy of behavior-reinforcement sequences. Reinforcement value is the degree of preference for a certain reinforcement to occur if the possibilities of occurrence for all alternative reinforcements are equal. In other words, the reinforcement value of a given behavior is the degree of importance attached to it. The final concept, psychological situation, refers to those aspects of the internal and external environment as perceived by the individual. Alternatively viewed, this last concept is the psychological arena from which the preceding concepts emerge.

Inherent in the definition of these concepts is a subjective quality. Each of these concepts is defined by the individual. As such, the meaning attached to each is derived from the individual's subjective evaluation of certain behaviors, reinforcements, and situations. In other words, these concepts are defined within the limits of an individual's subjective experience.

These concepts and the relationships among them have been conveniently stated by the following formula:

$$BP_{x,sl,r_a} = f (E_{x, r_a, sl} \text{ \& } RV_{a, sl}) .$$

This formula may be read as the potential for behavior x to occur in situation l in relation to reinforcement a, is a function of the expectancy of the occurrence of reinforcement a following behavior x in situation l and the value of reinforcement a in situation l. More briefly stated, the potential for behaving is determined by the reinforcement

value of the behavior and the expectancy of being reinforced; $BP = f(RV+E)$. Such a formula does not imply any mathematically precise relation. As stated by Rotter, Chance, and Phares (1972), although the relation between expectancy and reinforcement value is probably multiplicative, there is little systematic data from which a precise mathematical statement could be derived.

Although not mentioned in the preceding formula, an important determinant of behavior is the psychological situation. As previously stated, the psychological situation refers to that environment both internal and external, perceived by the individual. As a response to the psychological situation, the individual acquires certain expectancies for reinforcement of certain behaviors. As such, an individual's expectancy for reinforcement is dependent upon his or her perceptions of the situation. Oftentimes, the value attached to a given behavior may also depend upon the situation. As perceptions of a situation vary, so does the value of reinforcements change. In one situation the reinforcement value of a behavior may be quite high, while in another situation it may be low. Therefore, by affecting both expectancy and reinforcement value, the psychological situation exerts considerable influence upon potential behavior.

There are several communalities between Rotter's social learning theory and the present discussion of privacy. Such a communality concerns the general orientation of each approach. As previously defined, privacy was viewed as involving a behavioral process mediated by the individual's appraisal of the environment in conjunction with his or her own self-appraisal. In other words, as a behavioral process, privacy was viewed as a function of both the environment and the individual. Such a view is

rather similar to that presented by Rotter. As mentioned before, basic to Rotter's approach is the notion of behavior as the interaction of the individual and the environment. Thus, consistent with both Rotter's approach and the present approach to privacy, is the conceptualization of behavior as a function of an individual component and an environmental component.

Another similarity between Rotter's social learning theory and the present discussion of privacy concerns the emphasis placed upon the individual's subjective experience. As mentioned above, privacy was described as a process mediated by both the individual's appraisal of the environment and the individual's appraisal of oneself. Thus, privacy was viewed as a subjective process emerging from the individual's phenomenological world. A similar view has been expressed by Rotter, in respect to his theoretical construct of the psychological situation. As defined by Rotter, the psychological situation refers to those aspects of the internal and the external environment as perceived by the individual. According to Rotter, it is from such an environment that the individual defines his or her behavior. Thus, consistent with both Rotter's approach and the present approach to privacy, is the conceptualization of behavior within the context of the individual's subjective experience.

Based upon these similarities, Rotter's social learning theory seems rather applicable to the present conceptualization of privacy. When applied to the proposed definition of privacy, the following view obtains; privacy as a state of interactional control is a function of the expectancy of such control and the value of such control. As mentioned above, inherent to both Rotter's theoretical approach and the present approach to privacy is the delineation of three basic components; a behavioral, an

individual, and an environmental component. In regards to social learning theory, the behavioral component is best represented by the construct of behavior potential. When applied to privacy, behavior potential may simply be viewed as the potential for interactional control, which operates through the mechanisms of verbal, nonverbal, and/or environmental behaviors. The social learning construct which may be described as the individual component is that of reinforcement value. Reinforcement value as applied to privacy refers to the importance of interactional control. Since values tend to be neither objective-specific nor situation-specific, such a construct may be viewed as emerging from the individual's self-evaluation. The final component, that of the environment, may be associated with the social learning construct of expectancy. From the perspective of privacy, expectancy is the probability of interactional control within a given situation. Since expectancies tend to be rather situation-specific, this construct may be viewed as being derived from the individual's evaluation of his or her environment. Thus, through the application of Rotter's social learning theory, privacy as a behavioral process, may be both explained and predicted from the interaction of its expectancy and its value. Furthermore, through such an approach, privacy may be viewed from the perspective of the individual's psychological situation.

PROBLEM

Although commented upon by many, the empirical investigations of privacy have been rather small in number. This may in part be due to the difficulty in approaching such a concept within a controlled situation, such as the traditional laboratory setting. If privacy is to be defined as a response to the presence or absence of certain environmental conditions, then any attempt to simulate such conditions in an artificial setting seems somewhat meaningless. Thus, if privacy is to be adequately studied, then efforts need to be focused upon those situations wherein such a concept becomes manifest; that of the individual's everyday environment.

Even within a field setting, there are several factors which must be taken into consideration. One such factor is the complexity of one's everyday environment. More often than not, an individual's daily environment is comprised of several smaller environments, such as work, play, and home settings. Depending on the individual, these environments may be highly overlapping or highly differentiated. Thus, a question arises as to the degree to which one's reaction to a specific environment is contingent upon some other environment. One way to resolve such an issue is to study those individuals in real life settings whose boundaries form a relatively small and confined community. Settings are similar to what Goffman (1961) has defined as "total institutions." Included among these settings are hospitals, mental institutions, military bases, and prisons.

Consistent with the concern of the present paper, a major characteristic of total institutions is the absence of privacy afforded to the patients or inmates. In Goffman's terms, inmates and patients undergo a process of interpersonal contamination, in which the individual loses control over those with whom he or she must live and be in constant contact. Alternatively stated, a loss of control occurs through contamination by forced interpersonal contact. According to Goffman, total institutions disrupt and define precisely those actions that have the role of attesting to the actor and those in his presence that he has some command over his world. Jourard has also commented upon the effects of institutions by stating that in non-privacy, there is maximum opportunity to control behavior.

One of the few studies to examine privacy within an institutional setting was conducted by the present author (Smith and Swanson, 1977). Designed to investigate the effect of various institutional environments upon their inhabitants, the study was conducted in six different correctional institutions, representing a wide range of living conditions. Such conditions ranged from the very private to the completely nonprivate. On the basis of such differences in physical structure, it was hypothesized that differences in inmate values and expectancies for privacy would also be obtained. Although originally conceptualized as an individual construct, and thus non-situation-specific, it was felt that differences in value of privacy would be obtained due to the rather harsh conditions that exist within prison environments.

The results from the study only partially supported the hypothesis. Those inmates from the more privacy-affording institutions exhibited greater expectancies of attaining privacy than those inmates from the

nonprivacy-affording environments. Alternatively, no such differences were obtained in respect to value of privacy. Thus, these results indicate that even within a setting such as prison, one's expectancy for privacy is more situationally determined than one's value of privacy. Such findings lend support to the original conceptualization of expectancy as an environmental construct and reinforcement value as an individual one.

Another component of the study was the investigation of the effects of different living arrangements upon the inhabitants of one institution. Of all the institutions tested, only one offered a variety of living conditions to its inmates. As with the institutions in general, these ranged from the private to the nonprivate. The policy of this institution was to initially house new inmates in the less private conditions and then, through the show of good behavior, allow them the opportunity to move into the more private conditions. As such, moving from the former conditions to the latter ones represents a privacy-directed behavior. Consistent with a social learning approach, it was hypothesized that those inmates who had moved into the more private conditions would have a higher expectancy and value of privacy than those inmates who remained in the less private conditions. Such an effect was supported by the results.

Inmate values and expectancies for privacy were also examined in terms of their discrepancies. Such discrepancies were obtained by simply subtracting an inmate's expectancy for privacy from his or her value of privacy. Consistent with the model proposed by Altman, it was hypothesized that greater discrepancies would be associated with more negatively defined situations. The results seemed to support this prediction in that, the greater the disparity between the value and expectancy held by an inmate,

the more negative the inmate's attitude toward his or her respective institution in terms of both its opportunity and authority structures. In addition, a similar finding was obtained when such discrepancies were compared with inmate self-definitions. Although not quite as consistent as the above findings, those inmates who exhibited greater discrepancies perceived themselves as being less trusting, more alienated, less self-accepting, less expectant of goal attainment, and less personally controlled.

While supporting the utility of Rotter's social learning theory in the investigation of privacy, the results from this study provide some insight into the realm of institutional settings. In regards to such settings, the results may be summarized as follows: 1. that variations in living arrangements differentially effect those feelings of privacy held by their inhabitants, 2. that variations in living arrangements have a greater effect upon inhabitants' expectancies for privacy than their values of privacy, and 3. that those living arrangements in which discrepancies between values and expectancies for privacy exist, are perceived more negatively by their inhabitants who also perceive themselves more negatively. As implied by these results, one way to instill more positive attitudes among those who are institutionalized concerning one's environment and possibly oneself, may be to change the physical structure of the institution so as to minimize any disparity in feelings toward privacy.

Although these results imply a certain effect, a difficulty arises in the degree of control afforded through such an approach. By comparing various settings which differ in more respects than just physical arrangement, it is possible that the obtained results were due to some unknown

factor. To reduce such a possibility and thus, to more adequately study this concern, efforts need to be focused upon those situations in which an experimental design is approximated. Included among such situations are those institutions which have modified their physical structures in attempting to insure a greater sense of privacy among their inmates. One such situation is that involving the construction of a new correctional facility to replace an older one.

The Detention Center: The Detention Center was the predecessor of the new corrections center. Built during the 1930's the Detention Center can be characterized as a traditional county jail. As with similar facilities, the Detention Center was an overcrowded, poorly lit, and inadequately maintained structure. The cells were in continual need of cleaning and repair. As designed, the only function of the center was that of security.

The facility was designed to house approximately one-hundred and twenty inmates. Four inmates were assigned to a cell consisting of two bunk beds and a commode. The floor space of each cell was sixty-four square feet, or sixteen square feet per inmate. The cells were arranged in the traditional block fashion, with each block having access to a common area consisting of two tables, a television, phone, and shower. Since there were four cells per block, the common area was normally shared by sixteen inmates. The floor space of each common area was one-hundred and sixty square feet, or ten square feet per inmate. During the day, inmates were allowed access to and from their cells and common area only under direct supervision. As with most older facilities, the cells consisted of bars and were arranged so as to inhibit any view of

the outside. Although located in the Southeast, the center was not air conditioned.

The facility can best be characterized as one in which privacy and personal space were minimized.

Corrections Center: The Corrections Center replaced the rather antiquated Detention Center. Having been completed within the past year, the center can be characterized as one of the more modern facilities within local corrections. Unlike traditional jails, the Corrections Center was designed to allow for both security and the comfort of its inmates. As such, the facility is an attempt to provide a more humane environment for the inmates.

The facility is designed to house one-hundred and nineteen inmates. Each inmate is assigned to an individual cell consisting of a single bunk, commode, and sink. The floor space of each cell is sixty-three square feet. The cells are arranged in either a 16-cell or 8-cell group or pod, with each having two tables, a bench, television, phone, and shower. The majority of the inmates are assigned to the 16-cell pods. The floor space of these pods is five-hundred square feet, or thirty-five square feet per inmate. Compared to the old facility, the cells in the Corrections Center are about four times as large per inmate and the commons areas are about three and a half times as large per inmate. During the day, inmates are allowed free access to and from their cells and common area. There are no bars in the entire facility and each cell has a view of the outside. Consistent with its design, the entire facility is air conditioned.

This facility can best be described as one in which privacy and personal space are maximized.

The purpose of the present study is to investigate the effects of one's physical environment upon privacy. More specifically, the present study is an examination of the effects of relocating individuals from a non-privacy affording environment to one which offers a high degree of privacy. Consistent with the previously mentioned study, it is hypothesized that:

1. such a change in environments will result in an increase in inmate expectancies for privacy.
2. such a change in environments will have no effect upon inmate values of privacy.
3. such a change in environments will result in a decrease in inmate discrepancies in privacy.

Another concern of the present investigation is the effect of a discrepancy in one's value and expectancy for privacy upon one's attitudes and behaviors. Based upon the results in the previous study, it is hypothesized that:

4. the greater the discrepancy, the more negative the inmate's definition of the situation.
5. the greater the discrepancy, the more negative the inmate's view of the legal system.
6. the greater the discrepancy, the greater the inmate's alienation.
7. the greater the discrepancy, the lower the inmate's expectancy for goal attainment.
8. the greater the discrepancy, the lesser the inmate's feelings of personal control.
9. the greater the discrepancy, the higher the inmate's incidence of rule violations.

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects consisted of male inmates who volunteered to participate in the study. The ages of the inmates ranged from 18 to 45 years old, with a median age of 25. On the average, the educational level of the inmates was equivalent to that of ninth grade. The number of Black to White inmates was roughly equal.

Subjects were sampled at three different times. The first sample was conducted at the old facility approximately one month before the move, while the second sample was conducted at the new facility approximately one month after the move. To provide a means of assessing the stability of the impact of the move, a third sample was selected some six months after the second.

Roughly half the inmate population, excluding sentenced inmates, was sampled at each time period. Sentenced inmates were excluded from the samples due to their greater movement both within and outside the facility and the greater opportunity afforded to them. These inmates represented a small minority of the total inmate population. Since the average length of detainment for non-sentenced inmates was six months, many of the inmates who participated in the second phase of testing either participated in or were present during the first phase.

The number of inmates included in the samples were 46, 43, and 37.

Testing Instruments

A series of questionnaires were administered to each inmate sample, from which inmate attitudes were assessed. These instruments have all been used in previous research, much of which has been conducted in correctional settings. A description of the instruments follows. (See appendix for questionnaires.)

Privacy

Based upon Westin's analysis, privacy was conceptualized into the following states: solitude, intimacy, individuation, and self-disclosure. Whereas the first two of these states follow directly from Westin's terminology, the latter two are simply the converse of his terms of anonymity and reserve. Consistent with this analysis a series of statements were devised to correspond to each state. These statements were in turn assembled into two questionnaires. Each questionnaire contained 28 items with eight items corresponding to each state, with the exception of individuation which had four items. The items on both questionnaires were identical, only the order in which they were presented and their instructions differed. The first of these questionnaires instructed respondents to rate the importance of each statement, while the second questionnaire instructed respondents to rate the expectancy of each statement. Responses to the former questionnaire were in the form of very important, important, somewhat important, and not important at all. Responses to the latter questionnaire were in the form of very sure, sure, somewhat sure, and not sure at all. Respondents were instructed to answer each questionnaire relative to their current situation. From these instruments, measures of the value of privacy and the expectancy for privacy were obtained.

Sample Items:

Solitude

1. Being able to get away by myself.
2. Having a place where I can be alone.

Intimacy

1. Talking with my friends without other people trying to listen in on what we are saying.
2. Enjoying the company of others in private.

Individuation

1. Being known by my name, not by a number.
2. Wearing my hair the way I want to.

Self-Disclosure

1. Letting others know my true feelings.
2. Talking about my friends and family.

Scale scores were derived via a Likert-type procedure. The items were scored such that the higher the score, the greater the value or expectancy for the respective privacy factor. Previous research (Smith and Swanson, 1977) has shown these scales to be both reliable and valid.

Definition of Situation

The instrument measuring definition of the situation was developed by Wood, Wilson, Jessor, and Bogan (1966) and later modified by Swanson (1973). The questionnaire was devised to measure the opportunity and authority structures within a prison environment, as perceived by the inmate during commitment or incarceration. The questionnaire contained 19 items representing six scales: opportunity for personal identity, opportunity for social and interpersonal development, personal ideas about commitment, value of commitment, attitude toward rules and regulations, and attitude toward authority figures. In addition, the first four scales were combined as a measure of the overall definition of the situation

while the last two scales were combined as a measure of the overall attitude toward authority. The response format of the scales was strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree. Several of the items were reverse scored. Scale scores were computed according to a Likert-type procedure. The items were scored such that the higher the score, the more positive the attitude toward the respective definitional scale.

Sample Items:

Opportunity for Personal Development

1. People who are mixed up when they get here can be helped by the time they leave.
2. By the time people have been through the routine here, they are not sure who they are anymore. (reverse scored)

Opportunity for Social and Interpersonal Development

1. When people live close together like in this place, you learn to see the other person's point of view.
2. It's easy to forget how to get along with people after you've been locked up - like in here. (reverse scored)

Personal Ideas about Commitment

1. It's hard to admit it, but the reason for a place like this is to help people stay out of trouble the next time.
2. Persons are sent to a place like this to get them out of the way, not to help them. (reverse scored)

Value of Commitment

1. Whether you like it or not, at least you have a chance to learn something useful while you're here.
2. When you're finished pulling time here, you're really not very far from where you started. (reverse scored)

Attitude toward Rules and Regulations

1. The only reason there are so many regulations here is because they like to have more ways to be able to bust you. (reverse scored)
2. If there were fewer rules, there would probably be less trouble around here. (reverse scored)

Attitude toward Authority Figures

1. In here they're always telling you what you've done wrong not what you've done right. (reverse scored)
2. Some of the officers in here get their kicks out of ordering inmates around. (reverse scored)

Attitude toward Law and Justice

The instrument measuring attitude toward law and justice was constructed by Watt and Maher (1958). The instrument was designed to measure an individual's attitude toward the police and the courts. The questionnaire contained six items. Responses to the items were in the form of strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree. Several of the items were reverse scored. Scale scores were obtained via a Likert-type procedure. The items were scored such that the higher the score, the more positive the attitude toward the legal system.

Sample Items:

1. For the most part, justice gets done by the law and courts.
2. The big time crooks never get arrested in this country; it's the little guy that gets caught. (reverse scored)

Alienation

The instrument measuring alienation was developed by Jessor, Graves, Hanson, and Jessor (1968). As designed, the instrument measures the degree to which an individual feels estranged from traditional life roles. The questionnaire contained ten items. The response format of the items was strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree. Scale scores were derived according to a Likert-type procedure. The items were scored such that the higher the score the greater the alienation.

Sample Items:

1. I often feel left out of things that others are doing around here.
2. I often feel alone when I'm with other people.

Freedom of Movement

The instrument measuring freedom of movement was developed from an interview schedule reported by Jessor et al. and modified and later expanded by Swanson (1973). The questionnaire was designed to measure an individual's general expectation for goal attainment. The questionnaire contained ten items. Responses to the items were in the form of very sure, sure, somewhat sure, and not sure at all. Scale scores were computed via a Likert-type procedure. The items were scored such that the higher the score, the greater the expectancy for goal attainment.

Sample Items:

1. When you think about what you really expect to happen in the future, how sure are you that your life will work out the way you want it to?
2. When you think about your future realistically, how sure are you of being able to settle down in whatever place you most prefer?

Personal Control

The instrument measuring personal control was constructed by Swanson (1970) and later revised by Swanson (1973). The questionnaire was devised as a generalized non-need area specific measure of internal-external control. In addition, a measure was devised to assess the amount of control inmates felt they possessed within the Center itself. The questionnaire contained 16 items. Responses were in the form of strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree. Half of the items were reverse scored. Scale scores were obtained according to a Likert-type procedure. The items were scored such that the higher

the score, the greater the feelings of control.

Sample items:

Personal Control

1. Getting what I want out of life really depends on whether the right people like me or not. (reverse scored)
2. What happens to me is really a matter of luck. (reverse scored)

Personal Control in Center

1. I can go in and out of my cell whenever I need to.
2. I never can get out for fresh air when I want to go out. (reverse scored)

Procedure

The testing instruments were administered to groups of approximately 15 inmates. The test sessions lasted around one hour and a half. All testing was conducted in the commons areas. Participation was voluntary and confidentiality was assured.

Design

The design of the study was cross-sectional. Inmates were grouped according to the time period in which they were tested. The discrepancy between each inmate's value and expectancy for privacy was computed by subtracting the latter score from the former score. These scores along with the inmate scores on the value and expectancy instruments were then compared across each time period.

To assess the effect of a discrepancy in privacy, the relationships among the discrepancy scores and the scores on the definition of situation, attitude toward law and justice, alienation, freedom of movement, and personal control instruments were obtained within each time period. As an indicator of behavior, inmates were grouped into troublemakers and

non-troublemakers on the basis of whether an incident report had been written-up on them during the two weeks before and two weeks after each test session. The discrepancy scores along with the other test scores were then compared across these two groups of inmates, within each time period.

A further assessment of the relationship between a discrepancy in privacy and behavior was conducted through staff evaluations. Six staff members were independently asked to rate each subject as to their aggressiveness and withdrawnness, and as to whether they were a troublemaker, an average inmate, or a model inmate. The format of these ratings followed that of a Likert-type scale. All ratings were conducted after the last sample was tested. The average rating of each inmate was computed, and the relationships among these scores and those from other test instruments were obtained.

RESULTS

Internal Properties of Privacy Scales

To determine the adequacy of the privacy scales, the internal consistency and the reliability of each scale was examined. The internal consistencies of the scales were assessed by Scott's (1960) homogeneity ratio (HR)¹, while the reliabilities of the scales were determined by Cronbach's (1951) Alpha². The item-to-scale score correlation for each item was calculated to determine each item's contribution to its respective scale. Since all of the item-to-scale score correlations were relatively high, none of the items were removed from any of the scales. The homogeneity and reliability measures are presented in Table 1.

The optimal value of HR is .33 which provides for maximal discrimination among subjects if the items are split with a probability of .5 of passing or failing. For the most part, the HR's obtained on the scales were slightly above this figure, indicating somewhat less than maximal discrimination due to a slight redundancy among some scale items. Since Alpha is an estimate of a scale's correlation with an equivalent test, its optimal value is 1.0. As indicated by this measure, the scales seemed reliable.

¹Scott's HR is the equivalent of a weighted average interitem correlation, with each correlation weighted by the geometric mean of the two items' variances.

²Cronbach's Alpha gives an estimation of the scale's correlation with an equivalent test. Alpha is sensitive to both test length and homogeneity.

Table 1
Internal Properties of Scales
(n=126)

	Cronbach's <u>Alpha</u>	Scott's HR	# of Items
Value of:			
Solitude	.82	.37	8
Intimacy	.88	.48	8
Individuation	.64	.32	4
Self-Disclosure	.85	.41	8
Expectancy of:			
Solitude	.88	.49	8
Intimacy	.90	.54	8
Individuation	.65	.52	8
Self-Disclosure	.90	.52	8

Validity

Discriminant validity was established by examining the relationships among the privacy scales. The intercorrelations among these scales were compared with each scale's correlation with itself, as represented by Cronbach's Alpha. The correlation matrix is presented in Table 2. As can be seen by comparing the estimate of reliability to the average interscale correlation, each scale is discriminating between itself and each other scale.

Table 2
Intercorrelations among Privacy Scales
(estimate of reliability in parentheses)

	VSOL	VINT	VIND	VSD	ESOL	EINT	EIND	ESD
VSOL	(.82)							
VINT	.62	(.88)						
VIND	.52	.69	(.64)					
VSD	.35	.49	.46	(.85)				
ESOL	.15	.04	.03	.19	(.88)			
EINT	.11	.26	.21	.33	.73	(.90)		
EIND	.05	.19	.30	.20	.48	.52	(.65)	
ESD	.10	.16	.13	.54	.45	.53	.33	(.90)
Average Interscale Correlation								
	.27	.35	.33	.37	.30	.38	.30	.32

Hypothesis Testing

Mean Comparisons

The analysis of the privacy scores across the three time periods are presented in Table 3. In regards to the value scales, significant differences were obtained on intimacy and individuation, such that the importance of these factors was greater during the first sampling than during the last. On the expectancy scales, significant differences were obtained with solitude and intimacy, such that the expectancy for these factors was greater during the second and third samplings than during the first. The significant differences obtained among the discrepancy scores were counter

Table 3

Mean Comparisons of Scales
(sample size within parentheses)

Values of:	I (45)	II (43)	III (36)	T Values		
				I-II	I-III	II-III
Solitude	X= 23.8 sd= 5.7	24.4 5.4	24.1 4.7	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Intimacy	X= 21.8 sd= 6.9	21.0 5.9	18.4 6.2	n.s.	1.99*	n.s.
Individuation	X= 12.4 sd= 3.1	11.2 2.7	10.7 2.7	n.s.	2.60**	n.s.
Self-Disclosure	X= 21.1 sd= 5.8	20.5 5.9	20.0 5.1	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
<u>Expectancies of:</u>	(42)	(42)	(37)			
Solitude	X= 14.7 sd= 6.3	22.2 5.3	20.9 5.9	-5.91***	-4.71***	n.s.
Intimacy	X= 15.0 sd= 6.8	19.1 6.1	18.8 6.1	-2.92**	-2.63**	n.s.
Individuation	X= 10.6 sd= 3.1	10.6 3.3	10.6 2.3	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Self-Disclosure	X= 18.8 sd= 6.8	20.8 5.5	18.9 6.7	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Table 3 - continued

Discrepancies in:	I (41)	II (42)	III (36)	T Values		
				I-II	I-III	II-III
Solitude	X= 9.1 sd= 8.7	2.4 6.0	3.4 7.0	4.17***	3.40***	n.s.
Intimacy	X= 6.5 sd= 9.3	2.2 5.8	.6 6.9	2.67**	3.45***	n.s.
Individuation	X= 1.6 sd= 4.1	.8 2.8	.2 3.1	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Self-Disclosure	X= 2.0 sd= 5.9	-.2 5.1	1.6 6.3	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

to those obtained among the expectancy scales, in that discrepancies in solitude and intimacy were greater during the first sampling, than during the second and third.

Correlations with Discrepancy Scores

The correlations among the discrepancy scores and the other scale scores for the total sample are presented in Table 4. In regards to solitude, significant relationships were obtained such that those inmates who exhibited a greater discrepancy in solitude perceived the Center as less of an opportunity for personal development, perceived the overall situation, authority figures, and the legal system more negatively, and perceived themselves as having less control within the Center itself. The significant relationships obtained with intimacy were such that those inmates who exhibited a greater discrepancy in intimacy perceived the Center as offering less opportunity for personal development, and perceived themselves as being more alienated and having less control within the Center. Concerning individuation, significant relationships were obtained such that those inmates who exhibited a greater discrepancy in individuation, perceived the legal system, authority figures, and authority in general more negatively, and perceived themselves as having less control within the Center. The only significant relationship that occurred on self-disclosure was with alienation: those inmates who exhibited a greater discrepancy in self-disclosure were more alienated.

The correlations among the discrepancy scores and the other scale scores for the first sample are presented in Table 5. The scale on which most of the significant relationships were obtained was personal control within the Center: those inmates who exhibited a greater discrepancy in solitude, intimacy, individuation, and self-disclosure perceived

Table 4
Correlations with Discrepancy Scores: Total Sample
(n=126)

	DSOL	DINT	DIND	DSD
Opportunity for Social/ Interpersonal Development	-.09	-.06	.01	.04
Opportunity for Personal Development	-.19**	-.21**	-.17	-.03
Ideas about Commitment	-.14	-.07	-.11	.03
Value of Commitment	-.17	-.17	-.14	-.03
Overall Definition	-.18*	-.15	-.13	.01
Attitude toward Rules/ Regulations	.00	-.01	-.08	-.17
Attitude toward Authority	-.18*	-.14	-.24**	-.01
Overall Attitude toward Authority	-.10	-.09	-.18*	-.11
Alienation	.10	.18*	.11	.19*
Freedom of Movement	.05	-.07	.00	-.03
Personal Control	-.11	-.06	-.05	-.17
Personal Control within Jail	-.35***	-.27**	-.38***	-.07
Attitude toward Law/ Justice	-.28**	-.15	-.28**	-.11

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

themselves as having less control. Most of the other significant relationships were obtained with self-disclosure, such that those inmates who exhibited greater discrepancies in self-disclosure perceived rules and regulations, authority figures, and authority in general more negatively. One last significant relationship was obtained with individuation; those inmates who exhibited greater discrepancies in individuation, perceived the legal system more negatively.

The correlations among the discrepancy scores and the other scale scores for the second sample are presented in Table 6. The scale on which most of the significant relationships occurred was attitude toward law and justice; those inmates who exhibited greater discrepancies in solitude, individuation, and self-disclosure maintained more negative attitudes toward the legal system. Significant relationships also obtained on attitude toward authority and personal control within the Center; those inmates who exhibited greater discrepancies in solitude and individuation perceived authority figures more negatively, while those inmates who exhibited greater discrepancies in intimacy and individuation felt they had less control. Other significant relationships occurred with self-disclosure such that those inmates who exhibited a greater discrepancy in self-disclosure perceived rules and regulations more negatively and perceived themselves as having less control in general.

The correlations among the discrepancy scores and the other scale scores for the third sample are presented in Table 7. The only significant relationship which obtained was with individuation, such that those inmates who exhibited a greater discrepancy in individuation perceived themselves as more alienated.

Table 5
Correlations with Discrepancy Scores: Sample I
(n=47)

	DSOL	DINT	DIND	DSD
Opportunity for Social/ Interpersonal Development	-.06	-.09	.06	-.09
Opportunity for Personal Development	-.04	-.05	-.08	-.18
Ideas about Commitment	.04	-.04	-.03	-.18
Value of Commitment	-.23	-.26	-.16	-.20
Overall Definition	-.08	-.12	-.06	-.19
Attitude toward Rules/ Regulations	.15	-.01	-.20	-.34*
Attitude toward Authority	-.04	-.19	-.22	-.33*
Overall Attitude toward Authority	.08	-.10	-.24	-.38**
Alienation	.14	.11	.11	.26
Freedom of Movement	.02	-.07	.08	-.15
Personal Control	-.02	-.01	-.07	-.15
Personal Control within Jail	-.40**	-.32*	-.47**	-.36*
Attitude toward Law/ Justice	-.24	-.21	-.44**	-.20

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

Table 6
Correlations with Discrepancy Scores: Sample II
(n=43)

	DSOL	DINT	DIND	DSD
Opportunity for Social/ Interpersonal Development	.09	.01	-.01	-.01
Opportunity for Personal Development	.13	-.15	-.26	.07
Ideas about Commitment	-.06	.04	-.26	.00
Value of Commitment	.07	-.05	-.17	.12
Overall Definition	.06	-.05	-.22	.06
Attitude toward Rules/ Regulations	-.15	.05	-.03	-.32*
Attitude toward Authority	-.34*	-.18	-.36*	.03
Overall Attitude toward Authority	-.31*	-.09	-.25	-.19
Alienation	-.04	.14	.12	.12
Freedom of Movement	.06	-.13	-.14	-.22
Personal Control	-.20	-.02	.00	-.46**
Personal Control within Jail	-.22	-.33*	-.45**	-.01
Attitude toward Law/ Justice	-.40**	-.09	-.40**	-.38*

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

Table 7
Correlations with Discrepancy Scores: Sample III
(n=36)

	DSOL	DINT	DIND	DSD
Opportunity for Social/ Interpersonal Development	-.24	-.09	-.10	.28
Opportunity for Personal Development	-.47**	-.28	-.12	.09
Ideas about Commitment	-.19	.02	-.04	.28
Value of Commitment	-.15	.01	-.03	.11
Overall Definition	-.30	-.08	-.09	.24
Attitude toward Rules/ Regulations	-.05	-.07	.08	.19
Attitude toward Authority	-.20	-.01	-.17	.27
Overall Attitude toward Authority	-.14	-.04	-.05	.25
Alienation	.28	.37*	.08	.26
Freedom of Movement	-.09	-.09	.01	.16
Personal Control	-.15	-.15	-.08	.09
Personal Control within Jail	-.29	-.02	-.18	.16
Attitude toward Law/ Justice	-.19	-.04	.04	.18

*p <.05

**p <.01

***p <.001

Comparisons According to Rule Infractions

When such analyses were attempted, it became apparent that many incident reports had been either lost or mis-filed. Of the reports which were available, the majority were those which had been filed during the last test period. Due to this inability to retrieve complete data, the only analysis which was feasible to conduct was that of the last sample. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 8.

Significant relationships were obtained such that those inmates who had been written-up for a rule infraction perceived the Center as offering less opportunity for personal development, had more negative ideas about commitment, saw less value in commitment, and had a more negative attitude toward rules and regulations, the overall situation, and the legal system. In addition, these inmates perceived themselves as having less control within the Center itself. Although no significant relationships were obtained among the discrepancy scores, several were in the expected direction.

Table 8

Mean Comparisons according to Rule Infractions: Sample III

		Violators (n=14)	Non-Violators (n=23)	T Value
Opportunity for Social/ Interpersonal Development	X= 8.9 sd= 2.1	10.3 2.6	n.s.	
Opportunity for Personal Development	X= 9.2 sd= 2.6	11.0 2.9	-1.97	
Ideas about Commitment	X= 10.1 sd= 3.1	13.4 4.0	-2.62*	

Table 8 - continued

	Violators (n=14)		Non-Violators (n=23)	T Value
Value of Commitment	X=	6.3	9.1	-3.31**
	sd=	2.5	2.4	
Overall Definition	X=	34.5	43.8	-2.93**
	sd=	7.4	10.3	
Attitude toward Rules/ Regulations	X=	8.7	10.6	-2.24*
	sd=	2.6	2.4	
Attitude toward Authority	X=	6.9	8.0	n.s.
	sd=	2.6	2.7	
Overall Attitude toward Authority	X=	15.5	18.7	n.s.
	sd=	4.7	4.8	
Alienation	X=	25.6	27.5	n.s.
	sd=	7.3	6.1	
Freedom of Movement	X=	32.1	31.0	n.s.
	sd=	4.7	7.3	
Personal Control	X=	15.7	16.6	n.s.
	sd=	3.1	4.2	
Personal Control within Jail	X=	32.8	37.8	-2.38*
	sd=	6.1	6.0	
Attitude toward Law/ Justice	X=	13.8	18.2	-2.95**
	sd=	4.2	4.5	
Discrepancy in Solitude	X=	5.0	2.5	n.s.
	sd=	9.4	5.2	
Discrepancy in Intimacy	X=	2.8	-.7	n.s.
	sd=	8.7	5.3	
Discrepancy in Individ- uation	X=	.2	.3	n.s.
	sd=	3.5	2.9	
Discrepancy in Self- Disclosure	X=	2.5	1.0	n.s.
	sd=	8.3	4.9	

*p <.05

**p <.01

Correlations with Staff Ratings

Of the six staff members from whom ratings were requested, all but one correctly completed the forms. As a measure of interrater reliability, the intercorrelations among these five raters were compared. The Pearson product-moment correlations are presented in Table 9. As indicated by these measures, the ratings of aggressiveness and troublemaking were consistent across raters, while the ratings of withdrawnness were somewhat less consistent.

Table 9

Interrater Correlations

(Note: Any correlation of .35 or greater is significantly different from zero at the .05 level of significance.)*

	# of Inmates Rated	Aggression	Withdrawal	Trouble- making
Raters:				
1	56	.51	.23	.42
2	67	.53	.24	.41
3	71	.41	.19	.40
4	50	.35	.14	.39
5	53	.57	.21	.43
Average Interrater Correlation		.47	.20	.41

*Based upon correlation with the least number of degrees of freedom; 30df.

In comparing each inmate's mean rating with the scores obtained from the test instruments, a difficulty arises as to grouping inmates by

test period. Many of the inmates who participated in the second phase of testing either participated in or were present during the first phase. Since the raters were requested to make only one rating per inmate, any differentiation of ratings according to Sample I or Sample II is thus impossible. Based upon this inability to differentiate and an assumption that ratings are influenced most by more recent behaviors, the only analyses conducted were those of the last two samples, II & III.

The correlations among the ratings and the other test scores for the second sample are presented in Table 10. Most of the significant relationships which were obtained were with troublemakers: those inmates who were viewed more as troublemakers, perceived less opportunity for personal development and less value in commitment, exhibited more negative attitudes toward the overall situation and the legal system itself, and exhibited less of a discrepancy in solitude. Other significant relationships occurred with aggression and withdrawal: those inmates who were rated as being more aggressive, perceived less opportunity for personal development, while those inmates who were rated as being more withdrawn, exhibited a greater discrepancy in individuation.

The correlations among the ratings and the other test scores for the third sample are presented in Table 11. Significant relationships were obtained such that those inmates who were viewed as being more aggressive and less withdrawn, exhibited a greater discrepancy in individuation, and those inmates who were viewed more as troublemakers, exhibited more negative ideas about commitment. In addition, several relationships approached significance: those inmates who were rated more as troublemakers, exhibited less value in commitment, less control in the Center, and a greater discrepancy in solitude.

Table 10
Correlations with Ratings: Sample II
(n=36)

	Aggression	Withdrawal	Trouble- making
Opportunity for Social/ Interpersonal Development	.08	-.15	-.11
Opportunity for Personal Development	-.40**	-.05	-.53***
Ideas about Commitment	-.17	-.04	-.18
Value of Commitment	-.30	.03	-.45**
Overall Definition	-.26	-.05	-.39*
Attitude toward Rules/ Regulations	-.26	.21	-.23
Attitude toward Authority	.02	-.18	.00
Overall Attitude toward Authority	-.15	.03	-.15
Alienation	.15	-.16	.29
Freedom of Movement	.15	-.26	-.14
Personal Control	.18	.00	.17
Personal Control within Jail	-.04	-.16	-.34*
Attitude toward Law/Justice	-.10	-.20	-.16
Discrepancy in Solitude	-.19	.12	-.40*
Discrepancy in Intimacy	.03	.13	.10
Discrepancy in Individuation	-.14	.40*	.03
Discrepancy in Self-Disclosure	-.10	.17	-.12

*p <.05

**p <.01

***p <.001

Table 11
Correlations with Ratings: Sample III
(n=35)

	Aggression	Withdrawal	Trouble- making
Opportunity for Social/ Interpersonal Development	-.05	.09	-.23
Opportunity for Personal Development	-.03	-.02	-.20
Ideas about Commitment	-.23	.22	-.34**
Value of Commitment	-.23	.26	-.26*
Overall Definition	-.17	.17	-.31*
Attitude Toward Rules/ Regulations	-.01	-.19	-.22
Attitude toward Authority	-.11	-.21	-.16
Overall Attitude toward Authority	-.07	-.21	-.20
Alienation	-.17	.12	-.01
Freedom of Movement	-.10	.00	.04
Personal Control	.09	-.12	-.05
Personal Control within Jail	-.27	.14	-.32*
Attitude toward Law/Justice	-.27	.08	-.24
Discrepancy in Solitude	.26	-.26	.29*
Discrepancy in Intimacy	.09	-.17	.22
Discrepancy in Individuation	.33**	-.34**	.28
Discrepancy in Self-Disclosure	.05	-.15	.04

*p < .10

**p < .05

DISCUSSION

The results of the present investigation indicate that changes in one's physical environment effect one's notions of privacy, in that relocating individuals from a seemingly non-privacy affording environment to one which was designed to offer a high degree of privacy resulted in a substantial increase in the inhabitants' expectancies for privacy and a slight decrease in their values of privacy. While in support of the proposed effects for which the new structure was intended, such findings provide further evidence for approaching privacy from a social learning perspective. Consistent with the conceptualization of expectancy as an environmental construct and value as an individual construct, the findings indicate that expectancies for privacy are more situationally determined than are values of privacy. Similar results were obtained in previous research (Smith and Swanson, 1977).

The results obtained on the expectancy scales and the discrepancy scores were as predicted, supporting the main hypotheses that moving from the old facility to the new would result in an increase in inmate expectancies for privacy and a decrease in inmate discrepancies in privacy. The results obtained on the value scales were not as expected. Although it was hypothesized that inmate values for privacy would be unaffected by the move, the results indicated that these values decreased. Since the expectancies for privacy increased soon after the move while the values of privacy decreased some time after, it appears as if values change more gradually and thus are less sensitive to environmental change. This finding represents an addition to previous results.

The analysis of privacy as the states of solitude, intimacy, individuation, and self-disclosure provides further insight into the concept of privacy itself. If these four states were ranked according to dependence on the environment, solitude would probably be viewed as the most dependent, followed by intimacy, individuation, and self-disclosure. Solitude, by definition, is a state of privacy in which a person is alone and free from intrusion by others. Such aloneness necessitates an ability to physically separate oneself from others, which in turn seems almost entirely dependent on the presence or absence of environmental barriers. Intimacy reflects the need for privacy to achieve maximum personal relationships. Though physical separation from others seems integral to this state, it is not a necessity, in that intimacy can be maintained in other ways, such as communication. Individuation refers to being recognized as an individual apart from others, and as such is a state of non-privacy. To avoid being recognized as an individual involves keeping oneself amid others by not engaging in those behaviors which make one stand out. Though the environment may make such recognition more or less difficult, individuation entails more of a behavioral separation than a physical separation. Self-disclosure is also a state of non-privacy in that it refers to the opening up of oneself to others. By not sharing one's thoughts or feelings with others, privacy is attained through psychological separation, on which the environment has little effect.

Viewing these states in terms of dependence on the environment may help to explain the results which were obtained. The states of privacy for which expectancies increased were solitude and intimacy. As mentioned, these states seem to be more dependent on the physical environment. Thus, moving from the old facility to the new should result in increases in the expectancies for these states, which it did. The results obtained on the

values scales are not quite as clear. The states of privacy on which values decreased were intimacy and individuation. These states were described as depending on both the environment and the individual. Since values are more individually determined, moving to the new facility may have resulted in a decrease in these values due to an interaction effect between the individual and the environment.

The effects of a discrepancy in one's value and expectancy for privacy upon one's attitudes were less than had been predicted. The results obtained from the analysis of the discrepancy scores and the other attitudinal measures indicated that associated with greater discrepancies in privacy were more negative attitudes toward authority figures, the law and the courts, and control within the Center. Although there were many variables that were not related to such discrepancies, it is interesting to note the nature of the ones that were. Those attitudes which were associated with the discrepancy scores were all concerned with aspects specific to the experience of being detained in jail.

All of the inmates who participated in the present investigation were awaiting trial. Of these inmates, many would be released back into the community through either suspension of charges or probation. The average length of detainment from arrest to disposition is four months. Thus, for those inmates who will re-enter the community after all legal proceedings have been completed, these four months of waiting in jail can be a time of much resentment and hostility. Similarly, for some, the fact that they are being detained before guilt has been determined is cause enough for resentment.

Recognizing the nature of detainment itself, the most obvious targets towards which to direct hostility are those who are responsible for

detainment, the law and courts, and those who are responsible for maintaining detainment, authority figures. Such hostility toward detainment may also be reflected in the feeling that there isn't much that can be done to alter the situation, personal control within the Center. Consistent with these observations, it may be that hostility toward one's environment, evidenced by a discrepancy in privacy, is carried over onto other aspects of the system, attitudes toward the law and courts, authority figures, and control within the Center. Or it may be that a discrepancy in privacy merely reflects another facet of hostility toward detainment in general.

When the analyses were conducted within each time period, the relationship among a discrepancy in privacy and one's attitude toward the law and courts, authority figures, and control within the Center tended to diminish across time. Consistent with the explanations offered for the relationships themselves, these results may reflect two somewhat inter-related effects. As obtained in previous analyses, moving from the old facility to the new, resulted in a decrease in inmate discrepancies in privacy. Assuming that these discrepancies were a source of discontent, there should also be a decrease in hostility toward one's environment. If so, then the relationships obtained with the discrepancy scores should no longer be obtained, due to the reduced salience of the variable itself. An alternative explanation may be that the decrease in inmate discrepancies in privacy simply reflected a general decrease in inmate discontent. Although the data does not support one explanation over the other, it seems that those sources of hostility, such as being detained only to be released back into the community, still existed. Thus, to assume a general decrease in inmate discontent may not be warranted, which in turn, raises some doubts concerning the validity of the latter explanation.

The effects of a discrepancy in one's value and expectancy for privacy upon one's behavior, were also less than had been predicted. The results obtained from the analysis of discrepancy scores and rule infractions indicated that rule violators viewed their situation, the law and courts, and their control during detainment more negatively. Although these individuals exhibited greater discrepancies in privacy, the differences from those of non-violators were not significant. Consistent with the preceding explanation, these results seem to support the view that after moving to the new facility, discrepancies in privacy were no longer a source of discontent, though other factors still were.

The results obtained from the analysis of discrepancy scores and staff evaluations are similar to those obtained with rule infractions. As indicated by the results, those inmates who were perceived as troublemakers held more negative attitudes toward their situation and their control within the situation. In regards to discrepancy scores, the findings were somewhat contradictory. While in the last test period, a discrepancy in privacy was marginally related to troublemaking; in the second test period, the opposite was found, with those inmates who were perceived as troublemakers exhibiting less discrepancy. Consistent with the preceding discussion, these findings seem to indicate further that after moving to the new facility, discrepancies in privacy were no longer a source of discontent. This is especially evident immediately after the move, in that those inmates who were more trouble, actually exhibited less of a discrepancy in privacy.

Although these findings seem somewhat contradictory, an explanation may be found when the experience of moving from the old facility to the new is considered. For those inmates who were housed in the old facility, moving to the new facility represented a change from one extreme to the

other. Whereas in the old facility, inmates were housed in four-person cells, in the new facility, inmates were individually housed in cells the same size as those in the old facility. As a result of such a change, the inmates may have experienced an increase in their control over their environment. For some inmates, this may have provided an incentive to act out, which in turn may have been perceived as troublemaking. Since such an increase was not reflected in overall feelings of control, these inmates may have been as negative towards their confinement as before, which may account for their engaging in trouble. For those inmates who were only housed in the new facility, the experience of moving from the old facility did not exist. Thus, for these inmates, those who were hostile towards their confinement had less of a reason to differentiate between their views of privacy and their overall views of detainment.

From a theoretical perspective, individuals may react to discrepancies in privacy by either trying to reduce such disparities or passively accepting them. This was the rationale for having inmates rated according to their aggressiveness and withdrawnness. As indicated by the results, most of the relationships obtained among the staff evaluations concerned troublemaking, with few involving either aggression or withdrawal. In regards to withdrawal, it is difficult to assess the lack of findings, since the intercorrelations among the raters were fairly low. This may have been due to some uncertainty concerning what behaviors actually constitute withdrawal. Also, by its very nature, those who are withdrawn tend to stand back, thus reducing others' awareness of them. As for aggression, it simply seems that troublemaking may be a more applicable dimension, since it incorporates behaviors, in addition to aggression, which are disruptive to the institution.

IMPLICATIONS

A possible criticism of the present conceptualization of privacy lies in its apparent similarity to the framework proposed by Altman (1975). Whereas Altman's conceptualization is in terms of desired and achieved privacy, the present approach has been in terms of the value and expectancy of privacy. If something is valued, then by definition, it is usually assumed desirable. Similarly, if something is expected to occur, it can usually be assumed that it will occur. Thus, at least in terminology these approaches seem rather akin.

Although the terms employed by Altman and the present research are similar, the models advocated by each are not. Altman assumes a curvilinear relation between a discrepancy in privacy and definition of the situation, such that the greater the absolute value of a discrepancy, the more negatively defined the situation. The present approach assumes a linear relation between discrepancy and definition of the situation, such that the greater the discrepancy, the more negatively defined the situation. The difference between these two models centers upon the treatment of those instances in which more privacy is expected (achieved) than is valued (desired). According to Altman, such instances should be defined as negatively as those in which values are greater than expectancies. Consistent with the present approach, such instances should be viewed more positively. Thus in those instances in which expectancies are greater than values, the models predict different outcomes. Although not designed to test the efficacy of one model over the other, it is important

to note that the results obtained in the present study and that conducted by Smith and Swanson (1977) were based upon the linear model.

Of significance to both the present approach and that proposed by Altman are the implications of these findings for the prediction of behavior. Implicit in Altman's model is the view of behavior as a response to one's situational definition. According to Altman, those situations in which one's achieved privacy differs from that desired are negatively defined. Assuming that individuals seek to minimize the negative aspects of their environment when confronted with discrepancies between achieved and desired privacy, the individual may either change the degree of privacy desired or attempt to achieve more. If the latter alternative is chosen, some form of behavior will be employed. Thus, when a discrepancy in privacy arises, the situation will be negatively defined, which in turn will motivate the individual to reduce the discrepancy. Consistent with the curvilinear model proposed by Altman, those instances in which achieved privacy is more than that desired provide the same motivation to behave as those instances in which achieved privacy is less than desired. Though the behaviors employed in the situations may differ, the motivation to behave is the same, that of reducing the discrepancy.

The results of the present study and that conducted by Smith and Swanson, raise some question as to the validity of Altman's approach. From these studies, it appears that the relationship between one's situational definition and discrepancy in privacy is linear. Assuming that one behaves in accordance with how the situation is defined, the implications of these findings are much different than those proposed by Altman. Whereas Altman presumes that any discrepancy is negatively defined, these findings indicate that those situations which are negatively

defined are those in which the value (desired) of privacy is more than that expected (achieved). More important, these findings also indicate that those instances in which the expectancy for privacy is more than that valued, are positively defined. As a result of defining one's situation as positive, the individual may feel a greater sense of control and thus be more inclined to engage in certain behaviors. Though resulting in behavior, it seems rather unlikely that the intention would be to reduce the discrepancy, especially if the discrepancy is positively defined. Thus, although a discrepancy in privacy may result in behavior, the motivation underlying the behavior and perhaps even the behavior itself, seem to depend upon the nature of the discrepancy.

APPENDIX

TESTING INSTRUMENTS

The following pages contain copies of the testing instruments presented in the order in which they were administered to the subjects. The names of the testing instruments did not appear on the originals. They are presented here only for illustrative purposes.

DEFINITION OF SITUATION

Name _____

Inmate Attitudes Toward Center

In this questionnaire, we have listed a number of statements about the center. We would like you to show your agreement or disagreement with each statement. Below each statement indicate your feelings about the statement. If you strongly agree with a statement, you can show this by circling STRONGLY AGREE. When you strongly disagree with a statement, you can show the feeling by circling STRONGLY DISAGREE. If you feel somewhere in between, circle one of the answers in between.

They are:

AGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, and DISAGREE

Let's take an example:

Q. There is enough variety in the center's menu to satisfy most anyone here:

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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If you think about this statement for a minute, you can see that some people might agree strongly, some might disagree quite strongly, and others might be somewhere in between. Think about the way YOU feel. Now circle YOUR answer.

Each question should be answered by itself. Don't worry about how

you have marked other questions. Your answers will be kept confidential and will be used only for research purposes.

Remember, there are no right or wrong answers. Just circle the answers that show how strongly YOU agree or disagree with each of the statements. Again you can circle any of the answers that appear after the questions.

1. By the time most people leave this place, they have a better idea of what they want out of life than they had before.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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2. The only reason there are so many regulations here is because they like to have more ways to be able to bust you.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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3. People who are mixed up when they get here can be helped by the time they leave.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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4. No matter what they tell you, pulling time does more harm than good.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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5. If you don't learn anything else here, at least you learn how to get along with others.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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6. The training you get here can make it easier to get a job on the outside.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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7. The main reason for regulations is so that the officers can have their own way.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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8. In here they're always telling you what you've done wrong, not what you've done right.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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9. When people live close together like in this place, you learn to see the other person's point of view.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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10. By the time people have been through the routine here, they are not sure who they are anymore.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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11. Whether you like it or not, at least you have a chance to learn something useful while you're here.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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12. Most officers at this institution don't care much about you as long as you stay out of trouble.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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13. When you're finished pulling time here, you're really not very far from where you started.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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14. Persons are sent to a place like this to get them out of the way, not to help them.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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15. What you learn in a place like this about getting along with other people sure won't help you on the outside.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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16. If there were fewer rules, there would probably be less trouble around here.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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17. An institution like this is a place where a person can get his or her feet on the ground and begin to make a fresh start.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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18. Some of the officers in here get their kicks out of ordering inmates around.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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19. It's hard to admit it, but the reason for a place like this is to help people stay out of trouble the next time.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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VALUE OF PRIVACY

In this questionnaire, we have listed a number of things which some people feel are important and other people feel are not important. We would like to know how important each of the following statements are to you, while you are here at the Detention Center. Please read over each statement and show whether it is either Very Important (VI) to you, Important (I) to you, Somewhat Important (SI) to you, or Not Important At All (NI) to you. Circle the answer which best shows how important you feel each statement is, while you are here.

	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Important</u>	<u>Somewhat Important</u>	<u>Not Impor- tant At All</u>
1. Having privacy.	VI	I	SI	NI
2. Being able to be alone with another person.	VI	I	SI	NI
3. Being known by my name, not by a number.	VI	I	SI	NI
4. Talking to others about myself.	VI	I	SI	NI
5. Being able to get away by myself.	VI	I	SI	NI
6. Talking to another person in private.	VI	I	SI	NI
7. Sharing my thoughts to other people.	VI	I	SI	NI
8. Having a place where I can be alone.	VI	I	SI	NI

	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Important</u>	<u>Somewhat Important</u>	<u>Not Impor- tant At All</u>
9. Being with my friends without anyone watching us.	VI	I	SI	NI
10. Telling people about my past.	VI	I	SI	NI
11. Being able to get away from people who are bothering me.	VI	I	SI	NI
12. Talking with my friends without other people trying to listen in on what we are saying.	VI	I	SI	NI
13. Being able to decorate my living area.	VI	I	SI	NI
14. Letting others know my true feelings.	VI	I	SI	NI
15. Not being watched by others.	VI	I	SI	NI
16. Getting to know other people better by being alone with them.	VI	I	SI	NI
17. Wearing the type of clothes I like.	VI	I	SI	NI
18. Letting others know about my personal life.	VI	I	SI	NI
19. Having a room by myself.	VI	I	SI	NI
20. Enjoying the company of another person in private.	VI	I	SI	NI
21. Wearing my hair the way I want to.	VI	I	SI	NI
22. Being open about myself with other people.	VI	I	SI	NI
23. Having a place where my personal belongings are safe from other people.	VI	I	SI	NI

	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Important</u>	<u>Somewhat Important</u>	<u>Not Impor- tant At All</u>
24. Not being disturbed by others when I am with my friends.	VI	I	SI	NI
25. Having other people know how I feel.	VI	I	SI	NI
26. Finding a place that is quiet.	VI	I	SI	NI
27. Being able to share my problems with another person without worrying about someone else overhearing.	VI	I	SI	NI
28. Talking about my friends and family.	VI	I	SI	NI

PERSONAL CONTROL

Judgments About Yourself and Your Life

In this questionnaire, we have listed a number of statements about yourself and how you get along in your life. We would like you to show your agreement or disagreement with each statement. If you strongly agree with a statement, you can show this by circling STRONGLY AGREE. When you strongly disagree with a statement, you can show this by circling STRONGLY DISAGREE. If you feel somewhere in between, circle one of the answers in between. They are AGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, and DISAGREE.

Each question should be answered by itself. Don't worry about how you have marked other questions.

1. Most of the unhappy things in my life have happened because I was unlucky enough to be in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

2. Getting what I want out of life really depends on whether the right people like me or not.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

3. Getting what I want out of life depends mainly on getting the breaks and having the right people on my side.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

4. What happens to me is really a matter of luck.
- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither Agree Nor Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
5. I know that if the right people don't like me, it doesn't matter what I'll do, I'll never win.
- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither Agree Nor Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
6. If I make a reasonable request to the staff, I generally get what I requested.
- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither Agree Nor Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
7. I never can get out for fresh air when I want to go out.
- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither Agree Nor Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
8. No matter how I ask, I never get to see the doctor when I need to see him.
- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither Agree Nor Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
9. When it is important to see visitors, I can usually arrange to see them.
- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither Agree Nor Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
10. If there is something I need to get done I am generally able to do it.
- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither Agree Nor Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
11. I can get things to read when I want to.
- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither Agree Nor Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
12. If I need to make a phone call, I can usually manage to get to a telephone.
- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither Agree Nor Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
13. If I really want to watch something on T.V., I can usually get others to agree.
- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither Agree Nor Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|

14. I never get clean clothes when I need them.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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15. I can go in and out of my cell whenever I need to.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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16. If I need to talk to someone, the staff will generally listen.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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ATTITUDE TOWARD LAW AND JUSTICE

In this questionnaire, we have listed a number of things that people feel differently about. We would like to know how you feel about each of these things. Please read over each statement and show how you feel about it, by circling one of the following responses. They are: STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, DISAGREE, and STRONGLY DISAGREE. Circle the response which best shows your feelings about each statement.

1. Cops often carry a grudge against men who get in trouble with the law and treat them cruelly.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

2. For the most part, justice gets done by the law and courts.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

3. Most policemen are honest.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

4. Any jury can be fixed, and most of them are fixed.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

5. The big time crooks never get arrested in this country, it's the little guy that gets caught.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

6. Most judges are honest and kind-hearted.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

EXPECTANCY FOR PRIVACY

In this questionnaire, we have listed a number of things that different people feel they can obtain. We would like to know how sure you are that you can do these things when you want to while you are at the Detention Center. Please read over each statement, and show whether it is either something you feel Very Sure (VS) you can do or have, something you feel Sure (S) you can do or have, something you feel Somewhat Sure (SS) you can do or have, or something you feel Not Sure At All (NS) you can do. Circle the answer which best shows how sure you are that you can do each statement, while you are here.

	<u>Very Sure</u>	<u>Sure</u>	<u>Somewhat Sure</u>	<u>Not Sure At All</u>
1. Having a place where I can be alone.	VS	S	SS	NS
2. Getting to know other people better by being alone with them.	VS	S	SS	NS
3. Wearing my hair the way I want to.	VS	S	SS	NS
4. Letting others know about my personal life.	VS	S	SS	NS
5. Being able to get away by myself.	VS	S	SS	NS
6. Being able to share my problems with another person without worrying about someone else overhearing us.	VS	S	SS	NS
7. Having other people know how I feel.	VS	S	SS	NS

	<u>Very Sure</u>	<u>Sure</u>	<u>Somewhat Sure</u>	<u>Not Sure At All</u>
8. Finding a place that is quiet.	VS	S	SS	NS
9. Talking to another person in private.	VS	S	SS	NS
10. Being known by my name, not by a number.	VS	S	SS	NS
11. Telling people about my past.	VS	S	SS	NS
12. Not being watched by others.	VS	S	SS	NS
13. Talking with my friends without other people trying to listen in on what we are saying.	VS	S	SS	NS
14. Talking about my friends and family.	VS	S	SS	NS
15. Having a room to myself.	VS	S	SS	NS
16. Not being disturbed by others when I am with my friends.	VS	S	SS	NS
17. Wearing the type of clothes I like.	VS	S	SS	NS
18. Being open about myself with other people.	VS	S	SS	NS
19. Being able to get away from people who are bothering me.	VS	S	SS	NS
20. Being able to be alone with another person.	VS	S	SS	NS
21. Being able to decorate my living area.	VS	S	SS	NS
22. Sharing my thoughts to other people.	VS	S	SS	NS
23. Having privacy.	VS	S	SS	NS
24. Being with my friends without having anyone watching us.	VS	S	SS	NS
25. Letting others know my true feelings.	VS	S	SS	NS

	<u>Very Sure</u>	<u>Sure</u>	<u>Somewhat Sure</u>	<u>Not Sure At All</u>
26. Having a place where my personal belongings are safe from other people.	VS	S	SS	NS
27. Enjoying the company of another person in private.	VS	S	SS	NS
28. Talking to others about myself.	VS	S	SS	NS

ALIENATION

In this questionnaire, we have listed a number of things that people feel differently about. We would like to know how you feel about each of these things. Please read over each statement and show how you feel about it, by circling one of the following responses. They are: STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, DISAGREE, and STRONGLY DISAGREE. Circle the response which best shows your feelings about each statement.

1. I sometimes feel uncertain about who I really am.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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2. It's hard to know how to act most of the time since you can't tell what other people expect.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

3. I often feel left out of things that others are doing around here.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

4. I can best be described as a loner.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

5. It seems to me that each person has to solve their own problems alone, since you can't really count on other people.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

6. Most people don't seem to accept me when I'm just being myself.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

7. I often find it difficult to feel involved in the things I'm doing.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

8. For the most part, people don't understand me.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

9. Hardly anyone I know is interested in how I really feel inside.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------------------	----------	----------------------

10. I often feel alone when I'm with other poeple.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

In this part, we are interested in knowing what you expect in a number of different areas, now and about the future. We are not trying to find out what you like or would want, but what you expect. We all want certain things but we don't really expect them all. Please consider each question carefully, and try to be as realistic as possible. Answer in terms of how you really expect things to be for you.

Each question is followed by four possible answers: Very Sure, Pretty Sure, Not Too Sure, Not Sure At All. If you expect something very strongly and without any uncertainty, circle Very Sure. If you have very strong doubts or are very uncertain about something, circle Not Sure At All. If your expectation is somewhere in between, circle either Pretty Sure or Not Too Sure, depending on which one is closest to what you really expect.

1. When you think about what you really expect to happen in the future, how sure are you that your life will work out the way you want it to?

VERY SURE PRETTY SURE NOT TOO SURE NOT SURE AT ALL

2. Think about your family for a moment. How sure do you feel that things can work out the way you want them as far as your family or family life is concerned?

VERY SURE PRETTY SURE NOT TOO SURE NOT SURE AT ALL

3. Think about your job or your work. How sure do you feel that things can turn out the way you want as far as your job or work is concerned?

VERY SURE PRETTY SURE NOT TOO SURE NOT SURE AT ALL

4. How sure do you feel that the way you do things will be respected by others?

VERY SURE PRETTY SURE NOT TOO SURE NOT SURE AT ALL

5. How sure do you feel that people you like want to spend time with you?

VERY SURE PRETTY SURE NOT TOO SURE NOT SURE AT ALL

6. How sure are you that people you know will have a high opinion of you?

VERY SURE PRETTY SURE NOT TOO SURE NOT SURE AT ALL

7. When you think about your future realistically, how sure are you of being a respected member of the community in which you'll be living?

VERY SURE PRETTY SURE NOT TOO SURE NOT SURE AT ALL

8. When you think about your future realistically, how sure are you of having enough money to live the way you'd like to?

VERY SURE PRETTY SURE NOT TOO SURE NOT SURE AT ALL

9. When you think about your future realistically, how sure are you of being able to settle down in whatever place you most prefer?

VERY SURE PRETTY SURE NOT TOO SURE NOT SURE AT ALL

10. When you think about your future realistically, how sure are you of having the kind of life that's interesting rather than routine?

VERY SURE PRETTY SURE NOT TOO SURE NOT SURE AT ALL

11. When you think about your future realistically, how sure are you that you can stay out of prison?

VERY SURE PRETTY SURE NOT TOO SURE NOT SURE AT ALL

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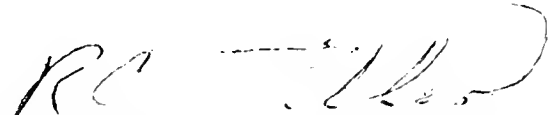
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH


Dale E. Smith was born on September 10, 1951, in Lawrenceville, New Jersey. He graduated from Lawrence High School in 1969. He attended Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania. He graduated with honors in 1973 receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts, cum laude. He attended graduate school at the University of Florida, where he received the degree of Master of Arts in 1975. His major area of study was Social Psychology.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



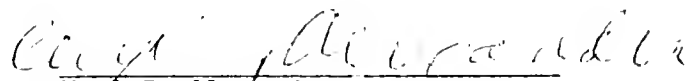
Robert C. Ziller, Chairman
Professor of Psychology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



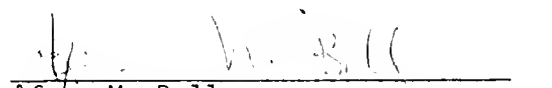
Richard M. Swanson, Cochairman
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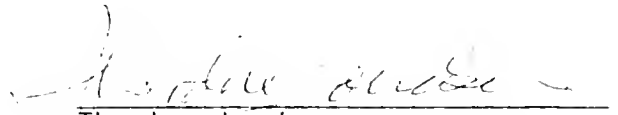
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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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Professor of Counselor Education

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Psychology in the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

June 1977

Harry S. Sisler
Dean, Graduate School

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